MAP OF BRITAIN IN THE DARK AGES

NORTH SHEET–SCALE 1:1,000,000

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North Sheet

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FOREWORD

This map forms the northern portion of the Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, of which the southern portion was published in 1935. The same conventional signs have been used, with the addition of others as required. So far as possible they have been designed to suggest, by their form, the object denoted ; thus the hut-like symbol is the nucleus round which the various habitation-symbols have been designed. It is intended to adhere to this principle, and to use the same symbols so far as possible, on any future maps which may be issued. It is also hoped that students of distributions may make use of these symbols on their maps wherever possible, since uniformity in such matters assists the map-reader, who is then not obliged to learn a new symbol-language, with each map he is given.

Certain special signs have been designed for this map. Stones with Pictish symbols sculptured on them (Class I) are indicated by an inverted crescent crossed by "compasses," one of the commonest of the actual symbols themselves. Stones with sculptured bulls are shown by a bull, and caves on whose sides are symbols are indicated by the usual cave-symbol with an inverted crescent beside it.

Portable objects with symbols engraved on them (silver chain, pendant, bone) have not been marked on the map. They are very few in number.

No brochs or earth-houses are marked on this map. It is uncertain to what extent buildings of either of these types were constructed, or even inhabited, during the period covered (which is roughly A.D. 450-850). Since they both certainly belong to this or the preceding period, they should properly be marked on one or other of the appropriate maps—this one or that of Roman Britain. In view, however, of the chronological uncertainty, it is proposed to publish a special map, uniform with the present one, showing the distribution of brochs and earth-houses.

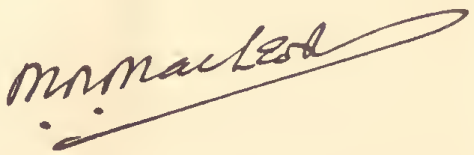
An area of marshland is indicated at one place only—in the Vale of Menteith and south-east of Stirling. This region is still covered with large expanses of peat-moss and is known to have contained much more within historically recent times. Originally the whole of the Vale must have been covered by an impassable morass. It is not known at what date the removal of the peat began ; it may have been quite early, for the obtaining of fuel ; and it is possible that a passage over the Fords of Frew was open during our period. It is certain that the Fords were in use during the 10th century, when they were "fortified" by Kenneth, son of Malcolm. Historically and geographically the area is of very

great importance, forming as it does a bottle-neck restricting land-communications between the whole of Scotland to the north of it and the south.

Five diagrams are published with the Introduction, which they amplify. The first one shows the principal routes, tribal areas and places mentioned in the text (p. 33). For the sake of clearness and comparison, the symbol-stones shown on the main map are given again on a separate diagram (p. 34). For convenience of reference two other diagrams (pp. 35 and 36) are given, showing the distribution of cross-slabs with and without Pictish symbols, although most of these may belong to the next period. Finally comes a diagram (p. 37) showing the distribution of the Vine-scroll, and of designs immediately derived from it, which is intended to indicate the northward penetration of southern (Anglian) influence. The objects on which these designs occur are crosses or cross-slabs which belong either to the end of the period or to a slightly later date.

The design on the cover is intended to suggest the culture of the period. In the centre is a mounted warrior portrayed on a grave-slab recently found at Invergowrie, near Dundee. The vine-scroll on the left margin is based upon that of the Bewcastle cross (Cumberland); that on the right upon the designs of the cross-slab from Hilton of Cadboll (Ross-shire), now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. The remaining designs are taken from other monuments illustrated in Romilly Allen's book (*The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1903).

The map has been compiled by the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Officer, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, with the help of many scholars. The map owes much to Professor W. J. Watson and his book (*The History of Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1926). The authorities of the National Museum of Scotland and Mr. A. J. H. Edwards in particular have given great assistance at every stage. The following have assisted in regard to special subjects and criticism of proofs:—Mr. A. O. Curle, Mr. Kenneth Jackson, Sir George Macdonald, Professor Eoin MacNeill, Miss C. L. Mowbray, Mr. Ian Richmond. It is hoped that all these, and also other helpers not specially mentioned, will accept the thanks tendered to them herewith. The final responsibility, however, rests with the Ordnance Survey.



Brigadier,
Director-General.

BRITAIN IN THE DARK AGES
(NORTH SHEET)

This map is a continuation of the South Sheet, embracing England and Wales, and published in 1935. It covers the same period of history; but while it was possible to assign fixed dates for the southern region (A.D. 410-871), it is not possible to do so for the northern. The historical documents that have survived are far fewer in number and, with one exception, far less authoritative. That exception is Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, which marks the dawn of consecutive history in North Britain; for the Roman conquest of Southern Scotland, described by Tacitus, was merely the first of two similar episodes, both ending in retreat. Between that false dawn and the other intervened nearly 400 years of utter darkness. Columba landed in Iona in the year 563. His Life was composed by his successor Adamnan during the years preceding 689; and the oldest manuscript (now at Schaffhausen) was written down before 713.

If a terminal date be demanded, the year 843 may be suggested, for that is the approximate date of the union of the two kingdoms of Picts and Scots under Kenneth, son of Alpin; but the absence of documentary sources apart from the Irish Annals makes even 843 purely artificial. There is no continuous history of Scotland for this period—nothing remotely resembling the History of Bede and the Old English Chronicle, nor is there anything equivalent to the land-charters. If such documents were ever composed, which is unlikely, they have long since perished; and we have to be content with the scattered historical references in Irish and English writers. For that reason a separate section dealing with the Canons of Evidence seems unnecessary. The same rules have been applied as before, with the necessary modifications. Wherever the manuscript authority is later than the period concerned (*i.e.* after 843), that is to say for nearly all names not taken from Adamnan, brackets have been used. But no brackets have been employed for names in Ireland, owing to the fact that the sources, though many of them good, are nearly all preserved only in late copies. An attempt has been made to retain the distinction between Anglo-Saxon and Celtic names, by the use of upright and sloping characters respectively; this distinction, useful in the southern area, has less force where the names are practically all Celtic (or pre-Celtic); but it has been preserved, partly for the sake of

uniformity, partly because the names in upright characters, mostly from Bede, serve to indicate the extent of his knowledge and perhaps to some extent also of Anglian culture.

The spelling of the Celtic names has presented great difficulties. The forms which occur in the manuscripts are often those, not of the period to which they refer, but of the period of one of the copyists. Sometimes it is possible to restore the older form with certainty, and this has occasionally been done. (In such cases the name is preceded by an asterisk.) As regards the aspirate (which in the Irish manuscripts was not written, but merely indicated by a mark), it was decided to write "h" with the letters *c*, *t*, *p*, but to omit it with *b*, *d*, *g*. It is realized by the compiler that the forms used may not be generally approved ; but it is doubtful whether any forms would receive universal approbation.

River-names are unfortunately very few. For this defect not only are the older sources responsible, but also the modern ones. For the southern area there was available Professor Ekwall's great work on English river-names. For Scotland there is no such collection of early forms. To search the records for them would have been an impossible task, quite beyond the powers of the compiler. Moreover, the map, like others of its kind, does not pretend to embody original research, but simply to be a key to the state of knowledge at the time of its publication.

For the same reason the aid of place-names in general cannot be used cartographically to supplement the historical and archaeological evidence. In spite of a standard work like Professor Watson's *Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, the materials do not yet exist for mapping the distribution of different types of name ; and for the Anglian element, which has been comparatively neglected, hardly any material has been collected. A glance at a modern map is sufficient to show that certain early types of Anglian place-names occur with considerable frequency in the Lothian district, where Anglian culture was strongest. But for mapping such a distribution not only would the early forms be required but also an investigation of adjacent regions where they may occur, such as Fife and Forfar and south-west Dumfriesshire.

Hardly less intractable is the archaeological material. The inhabited sites of the period may often have been in continuous occupation from earlier times ; their shallow, rocky soil inhibits deposition and stratification, and makes the task of the excavator one of extreme difficulty. Life in these strongholds was rude and simple ; imported types, which might assist in dating, were very rare. Pottery was apparently not much used in the Dark Ages and when found is not distinctive. Coins were almost unknown ; the few that have been found belong to the end of our period, and were derived from Saxon England and from Baghdad (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, XLVII, 12 ; *Catalogue of Nat. Mus.*, Edinburgh, p. 203). Other inhabited sites were occupied continuously down to much later

times, and some, such as Abernethy (E 7), are still occupied, and therefore closed to excavation. Nevertheless there are some whose excavation is feasible: such are the rocky eminences of Dinnacair, near Dunnottar (E 8), and Coludesburh (F 8), at St. Abb's Head. Another probable Dark Age site is that of Birrens* in Dumfriesshire, on the farm of Carruthers; if this last name signifies the stronghold of Riderch (Caer Riderch), who won a victory at Armterid (FG 8), 13 miles to the south-east, in 573, it must have been an important centre. At present, however, since there is no proof, it cannot even be marked on this map. Yet another is indicated by the remains of the village in the Manor Valley near Peebles, close to which was found one of the six inscribed memorial-stones. Here again there is no proof of age, but merely a strong presumption.

The memorial-stones themselves are tombstones erected on the graves of persons whose names were inscribed thereon in late Roman script. In two instances other graves were found in the immediate vicinity. The inscribed stones occur only in the "British" region lying south of the Antonine Wall. One of them was found at Whithorn itself (G 6) and it is probable that the others are to be attributed to the late Roman missionary enterprise of St. Ninian, who built a stone church at Whithorn about the year 400. It has always been assumed that these memorial-stones marked the graves of Christians; and this assumption was converted into a certainty by the discovery of the Manor Water stone (F 7), which has a cross carved on it. It is probable that many of the stone-lined graves discovered, particularly in the Lothians, belong in fact to our period; but the absence of grave-goods, while presumptive evidence of Christianity, makes dating impossible. No burial-grounds that can be attributed to pagan Anglians or their kin have been found north of the Tweed, nor should we expect them; for there is no real evidence that any Anglian king before Edwin (617-633) ruled anywhere in Lothian, and Edwin was baptized in 627. Moreover, it is unlikely that this early suzerainty was accompanied by any considerable immigration or settlement, such as would give rise to burial-grounds like those of southern England (see South Sheet).

On the South Sheet many linear earthworks were shown. None are available for Scotland. There are several cross-dykes in the Cheviots, generally thrown across old roads; there is one such, called Wallace's Trench, across the old thoroughfare from Clydesdale to Northumberland. There is a "defensive frontier" near Melrose (*Antiquity*, 1936, X, 346-9); and there is the Catrail, together with the innumerable "black ditches" that are found in the moorlands of Berwickshire and the other border-counties. But none of these can be dated. They can be classified into

* Not to be confused with the Birrens in Middlebie parish, where there was a Roman fort.

at least three distinct groups, and they may have been constructed at many different dates between the Roman period and modern times.

Roads, again, cannot be indicated, because nothing is known about them. Certain inferences about routes can be drawn from geography, battle-sites and known journeys ; but none are sufficiently well founded for inclusion in a map of this character. Since, however, it is possible, especially in the Highlands, to define certain routes with approximate certainty, they have been made the subject of a special diagram (p. 33) ; on this have also been inserted a few other ancient sites not well enough authenticated for inclusion on the map, together with others that do appear there. There can, for instance, be little doubt that Edinburgh was of importance in our period ; but it cannot be certainly identified with any place named in our sources.

Of the remaining sites marked some, like battlefields, need no explanation. Others, such as crosses, occur also on the South Sheet. Here it may be said that only crosses of the Anglian (Northumbrian) type have been marked. It is probable that a few of the free-standing crosses not of Anglian type may fall just within our period, but in the present state of knowledge it is not possible to date any of them with sufficient accuracy to justify their inclusion. For the same reason the cross-slabs of Pictland have had to be omitted, although evidence of Anglian influence occurs on some, in the form of modified vine-scrolls, *e.g.* Hilton of Cadboll, Tarbat, St. Vigean's, Crieff, Abernethy (see *Antiquity*, XI, 1937, 469-73). It is, however, unlikely that any of these were made before the 9th century, and they may be later.

The inhabited sites consist of hill-top strongholds (Dunadd, Dundurn, Dunottar), cashels (Nendrum, Ailech, Annait, Canna), earth-houses and lake-villages, and sites of undefined character. To the first group belong those sites where remains may still be seen or those (like Dunbar and Dumbarton) whose original character is certain. They were generally the defensive headquarters of the tribe and represented the nearest approach to a central seat of government that existed in those turbulent times. The early monasteries were often established in disused forts of this kind (Coludesburh, Aberfoyle and a site in Pictland which may perhaps be identified with Kirkbuddo). When none was available the monks made a rampart round their huts, as did Columba at Iona. In Ireland these are called "cashels," and the name has been adopted here. It is probable that in actual fact most of the inhabited sites here indicated without differentiation would be included in one or other of these two groups if the evidence were more complete. For there were no towns, and it is unlikely that the smaller communities would have been mentioned at all in the documents consulted. If open undefended villages also existed (as they probably did), they will have to be brought to light by archaeological methods. By the same means we shall no doubt eventually

be able to indicate more of the lake-dwellings, or crannogs, which were inhabited during the Dark Ages. Indeed, the complete excavation of a lake-dwelling of the period, with all its wealth of material, would be the best possible means of establishing a secure basis for the early history of Scotland.

No attempt has been made to restore the original extent of woodlands, since in a region like this the task is beset with difficulties. For the sake of uniformity the restored woodlands on the overlapping area between the two sheets have been removed.

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL REGIONS

The purpose of this map is to provide a cartographical basis for students ; and this is not the place to attempt any consecutive account of early Scottish history. It is thought, however, that a short sketch of the cultural regions and of the movements of culture may be desirable, especially as it is difficult, because of their fluid character, to represent them upon the map itself. The bases of such regional divisions are political, linguistic and archaeological. Inextricably interwoven with them are differences of religion—between pagan and Christian, and between the Christianity of Rome and that of Ireland (radiating from Iona).

Since political organization is concerned, the structure of the political unit is important. The supreme power resided in the chieftain, and was based upon military force. His primary function was ostensibly to defend his subjects against raids from outside ; in return for this protection we may presume that he and his immediate retainers were supplied with the necessaries of life by his subjects. But it was the constant aim of every such chieftain to extend his authority over other similar groups ; and in such undertakings it is probable that most of the able-bodied members of the community took part. For it is impossible that even the small armies of those days could have lived permanently within the narrow compass of such hill-forts as Dundurn or Dunolly. A successful raid ended in the exaction of booty and perhaps of tribute from the defeated ruler and his subjects ; but since there was no means of enforcing future payment except another attack and since counter-attacks were often successful, it is unlikely that the effects lasted long. Of this kind doubtless were many of the battles described in the Annals.

But in addition there was also the prolonged friction between larger groups. Both forms of contact have been recorded in the Annals without much differentiation ; but we must clearly distinguish between the burning of a tribal stronghold by a neighbouring chieftain and the decisive defeat of a confederation such as occurred at Dægsan Stane (F 8), the effects of which, Bede says, lasted more than a century.

To what extent such larger hostilities involved actual migrations of population is difficult to discern. It is, at any rate, certain that both

the wars between the Scots and the Picts and those between the Angles of Lothian and the Britons of Strathclyde ultimately introduced a new element into the population and involved much more than a mere change of rulers or overlords. On that point the evidence of place-names is decisive.

In this primitive society the Christian priests and monks played an important part. The political power of their leaders was very considerable ; they were closely associated with the chieftain in all his acts, and were sometimes themselves the sons of chieftains. "They were usually, or at least often, men of high birth, to whom rule came naturally. . . . The political influence of such men must have been by no means negligible, though we hear little about it in Scotland except in the case of Columba" (Watson, 336). But they themselves were also the cultural leaders of the community. It was St. Columba and other Christian missionaries who introduced books and writings into Scotland from the south. It was St. Ninian who built the first church of stone there ; and it was to the Abbot of Jarrow that Naitan, King of the Picts, wrote in 710 asking, amongst other things, for architects. From the writings and records of monks nearly all our knowledge of this early history is derived.

There is some evidence to suggest that the early missionaries also played a role of peaceful penetration into hostile territory. St. Columba's visit to Brude, son of Maelchon, King of the Picts, occurred about four years after the "flight of the Scots" before that king. Ceolfrid's mission to Naitan (just mentioned) took place about twenty-five years after the Angles had sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of Brude, son of Bile. Aidan's foundation of Lindisfarne in 634 may represent a reconciliation between Angles and Scots, when after thirty years the generation of Dægsan Stane was passing away. We are less well informed about the activities of Kentigern, whose Life was compiled long after his own time ; but at least it seems certain that his mission came from one part of the Celtic region in the west to another which had recently defeated it (Armterid, 573). The earliest mission of all, that of Ninian, was aimed precisely at those people who had been giving the Romans so much trouble when their Empire was breaking up ; and Patrick's mission to Ireland may have been influenced by similar considerations.

The foregoing remarks indicate the limitations of the map. Obviously it is not possible to represent such things cartographically, nor on the other hand is it possible to read the evidence of the map unless they are borne in mind. Moreover, without some consideration of social factors, the connotation of such expressions as the "Scottish" and "Anglian" regions may be misunderstood.

Scotland at the end of our period may be divided into five cultural regions : (1) the British region of Strathclyde ; (2) the Anglian region of Beornice (Bernicia), extending southwards from the Firth of Forth

into England and including also part of the south-west ; (3) a Scottish region of the west and south-west ; (4) Pictland, extending northwards along the east coast from the Firth of Forth ; (5) a marginal region of the north-west, including part of the Hebrides and the Orkneys and Shetlands. It is probable that the north-western part of the mainland was very thinly inhabited (Watson, 337).

(1) THE BRITISH REGION.—The first glimpse we have of the British region, early in the 5th century, reveals a kingdom one of whose political centres seems to have been Altclut (F 6) (the rock of Dumbarton). The king, Caroticus, to whom St. Patrick addressed his famous letter in the 5th century seems to have been nominally Christian ; but we know little more about him. His name recurs in the form Ceretic in one of the genealogies (Harl. 3859), and is the same as that borne by the ruler of the small British kingdom of Elmete (C 6 South Sheet) and also, strangely, of Cerdic, the Saxon leader. Dumbarton lay just beyond the Antonine Wall ; but it can hardly have been allowed by the Romans to function as an independent tribal centre during the 2nd century. Indeed, there is ground for believing that for a time there was a Roman harbour there (Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2nd Edition, 187), and it has been proved that a Roman road led out towards it. The other political centre was in Kyle (F 6), whose name preserves that of the ruling family of Coel Hen. "In the 6th century the princes of Lothian from Forth to Tweed, and as far south as Carlisle, belong to this line" (Watson, 127).

Originally the region which was British in language (P-Celtic), culture and political organization must have covered both sides of Britain ; but later it was confined to the west. Extending once without a break from the Clyde to the English Channel, the British front was breached on three successive occasions by the Saxons : first at the battle of Dyrham, Glos., in 577, which cut off the Welsh from the Cornish Britons ; then at the Battle of Dægsan Stane (603), which enabled the Northumbrian Angles to drive a wedge into Dumfriesshire between the Cheviots and the Pennine moors ; and finally at the Battle of Chester (616), which isolated the Welsh from their kinsfolk in the north.

The kingdom of Strathclyde thus represents the shrunken remnant of a much larger British region with a common language, culture and traditions, but consisting probably of independent or semi-independent political units. How far it extended north-eastwards is uncertain ; but the name "Fortriu" represents that of the tribe of the Verturiones, and the Maeatae of Xiphilinus are the Miathi of Adamnan. The name of the Votadini was also preserved in later times in a Gaelic form—"rinn fiadh-nach Fotudain," the far-seen point of Fotudan, which Professor Watson thinks was North Berwick Law, a landmark conspicuous throughout the Lothians. The Selgovae, whose name seems connected with the old Irish *selg*, a hunt

(Watson, 28), may have left traces of themselves in the county of Selkirk, formerly a royal hunting forest. But of course these survivals tell us little of the culture and nothing of the political organization of the region.

A little more light is thrown upon the culture by the inscribed memorial-stones that have survived. These are the Catstane at Kirkliston near Carlowrie, 7 miles west of Edinburgh, on a "heugh" at the junction of the Almond river and Gogar burn (F 7); the Yarrow stone at Yarrow Kirk in Ettrick (F 7); the Whithorn stone, found on the site of Whithorn Priory and now in the Museum there (G 6); the Manor Water stone, found near Kirkhope, 7 miles south-south-west of Peebles (F 7), and now in the Peebles Museum; the Liddisdale stone, found at the Brox, Castleton (F 8), and now in the National Museum, Edinburgh; and the Chesterholme stone (G 8), now in Chesters Museum, found a little to the north-east of the Roman fort of Vindolanda behind Hadrian's Wall. These were the tombstones of important persons who were also Christians. The inscriptions are in Latin, in late Roman capitals. They are evidence of the early existence of Christianity, and with it perhaps of some degree of Roman culture and literacy (however slight and restricted) throughout what may be called the intermural region. It is usual to connect some of them with the mission of St. Ninian (about 400). The presence of other inscribed stones both at Whithorn itself and at Kirkmadrine close by supports this view. The date of these stones is uncertain. None is likely to be later than 600. The Catstane must surely be earlier than the foundation of the Anglian bishopric of Abercorn close by, in 681; and the Liddisdale stone is unlikely to have been erected after the Battle of Dægsan Stane (603), which took place only a few miles away. For the stone is a monument of British culture and it was the Britons as well as the Scots who were defeated there, thus permitting pagan Anglian culture to penetrate westwards. Indeed, if we can trust the late Life of St. Kentigern, that influence had already reached Dumfriesshire; for he rebukes the inhabitants of Hoddom on account of their worship of Woden.

The inhabitants of this intermural region were called Gwyr y Gogledd, the men of the north, in the old Welsh poems, which contain much information of a confused kind about their struggles with the Saxons and with each other. We hear of fights at Caer Golud (F 8), Catræth (G 9), Metcaut (F 9) in 585; and at Camlann, probably Camboglanna (Birdoswald), a fort on Hadrian's Wall, King Arthur was killed (see *Antiquity*, IX, 1935, 289). Camlann would have been in the region of Ahse, through which St. Cuthbert (d. 687) went on his way to Carlisle from Hexham. The line of the Wall was also an important east-and-west route, then as now; and it seems probable that Arthur fell defending a British kingdom of the west against an attack from the east. Against this view is the fact that the first recorded Anglian invasion of Northumbria

is Ida's of 547 ; and there are strong reasons for supposing that he and his men may have landed further south (*History*, XX, Dec., 1935, 250-62). But an earlier unrecorded invasion is by no means impossible, and indeed is demanded if it is a fact that Arthur fought with the Saxons and that he fought in North Britain, as Professor Watson and the present writer and others think he did (Watson, 128-9 ; *Antiquity*, IX, 1935, 277-91).

We must not, however, try to impose too orderly a pattern upon a region and a period that were essentially disorderly and turbulent. The intermural Britons were attacked from every quarter—by Scots from the west and Picts from the north as well as by Anglians on the east. For a period they seem to have been submerged by the Scots, though they recovered later (Watson, 128) ; and it is possible that Arthur's foes may have been Picts and Scots rather than Saxons.

The political organization of the region may have been a loose federation whose bonds tightened only under the pressure of external forces. We hear of a number of tribal strongholds, mostly unidentifiable (Cair Etain, Urbs Giudi, etc.), one of which must surely have been on the Rock of Edinburgh. The stronghold of Kyle is not mentioned ; it may have been somewhere not far from Prestwick, where was the early ecclesiastical centre of Chilnacase (Watson, 190). For such centres were often not far from the political centre. (Compare Glasgow and Dumbarton, Lindisfarne and Bamborough.) The supremacy of Dumbarton within this federation is, like the existence of any such federation, to some extent an assumption ; but it is in agreement with the few available facts. Dumbarton itself occupies a key position at the southern end of an old thoroughfare leading into the heart of Eastern Scotland. It went up the east side of the Leven valley ; then, turning north-eastwards, it kept along the foot-hills of Kilpatrick, Campsie and Gargunnock to Kippen, where it crossed the Vale of Menteith to Doune. The Forth was crossed by the Fords of Frew. Here is the best place to cross the dangerous mosses that still cover much of the level carse between Stirling and Aberfoyle. It is significant that at the point where this route reaches hard ground on the north side of the Vale, at Coldoch, is situated the remains of a broch. From Doune the road went on to Dunblane, probably an important early site but one for which there is no good documentary evidence (Dul Blaan, the principal seat of St. Blaan, bishop of Cendgarad (F 5), now Kingarth in Bute : Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 177). Thence the route went up Strath Allan, probably along the Roman road to Ardoch ; and it may have continued by Duncrub, Dunning, Forteviot (all early centres) and Moncrieffe to Perth and thence into Strathmore.

At Dunblane the western route was joined by another coming from the south-east and crossing the Forth at Stirling. Every army coming from the south and marching towards the lowland regions of eastern

Scotland would have been obliged to cross either at the Fords of Frew or at Stirling. Yet there is no mention in early records of any place that can be identified anywhere in this region. It may be suspected that some of the numerous places mentioned in them which cannot now be located should be placed here. It is a remarkable fact that Stirling, whose importance in later Scottish history is well known, seems to pass without notice in these early records.

Dumbarton was the key of the western route, as Stirling was of the eastern. It lay right in the track of those who wished to penetrate north-eastwards into the fertile region of the Southern Picts. Except for Strathblane, which faces south-eastwards, there was no alternative except to follow one or other of the desolate and steep-sided highland valleys that thread their way through the mountains of modern Argyle and Perthshire. We know that the Scots of the south-west exercised just such pressure on the east; and we may regard Dumbarton as the stronghold of a buffer state between the Scots and Picts.

The south-western route may have been crossed at or near Dumbarton by another, nowhere recorded but merely a matter of inference, later uniting Iona with Lindisfarne. Glasgow, traditionally associated with St. Kentigern, whose headquarters were set up there, would have been the obvious port of embarkation; and there is a record in the late Life of St. Kentigern of a meeting between him and St. Columba.

The northern and eastern frontiers of this old British kingdom are uncertain and no doubt varied from one period to another. There is little doubt that a British principality called Manau Guotodin occupied the level lands on either side of the Forth below Stirling. Earlier still, British rulers held the whole of the Lothian plain. But Anglian penetration reached to Abercorn (F 7). The British kingdom or federation of Strathclyde survived until the 11th century.

In Bede's time British territory "probably extended . . . into Menteith, while their linguistic influence may have extended well beyond the bounds of their territory" (Watson, 206). Evidence of such cultural penetration consists of place-names and indications of early missionary enterprise. Round the margin of the Vale of Menteith are a number of small forts, locally called "Keirs," a purely British word, whoever the makers of the forts may have been (Watson, 371).

Around this region, too, are certain early dedications to St. Cadoc, a Welsh saint who flourished in the first half of the 6th century (Kilmadock, near Doune; St. Madoes, Gowrie; Cambuslang, where he is said to have founded a monastery; Monifieth, Angus: Watson, *Proc. Soc. Gaelic Studies*, II, 1927, 9). Further afield, the names "Rothmaise" (in Rayne, Aberdeen) and "Rothiemay" (Banff) both represent an earlier* Ratumagos, the fort on the plain, a not uncommon old Celtic place-name, identical with the old name of Rouen.

While these facts are not, of course, evidence of political dominance, they are evidence of early occupation by a people speaking the language of Strathclyde. That language survived far into the Middle Ages, probably until at least the 12th century (Watson, 132). But it was at last completely supplanted by Gaelic and English, the latter of which is now almost the only language spoken there. Gaelic, however, is not quite extinct in the Highland margin (Watson, 113); and as late as 1724 it was spoken by a majority of the inhabitants (Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections*, I, 1906, xxxi).

(2) THE ANGLIAN REGION.—Anglian culture penetrated into Scotland in two directions—northwards along the coast into the Vale of Tweed and into Lothian; and west across the main watershed into Dumfriesshire and Galloway. The early history of this whole region is closely bound up with the history of the Humbrenses, those early Teutonic immigrants who, as Mr. J. N. L. Myres has convincingly shown (*History*, December, 1935, XX, 250-62) formed the nucleus of the invasion. Mr. Myres has now amplified his original thesis in an indispensable book, which is easily available (*Roman Britain and the English Settlements* [with Professor R. G. Collingwood], Oxford, 1936, Chapter 23), so that merely the barest summary must here suffice.

The earliest settlers occupied the whole of the Humber region. At a later date those who lived south of the Humber became detached from the rest, so that it was necessary to coin a word to describe the northerners. Someone, almost certainly Bede, invented the word "Nordanhymbri" to cover the kingdoms of Dere and Beornice (Deira and Bernicia). It supplied a need and has survived until to-day as the name of the northernmost English county.

We may suppose that the Nordanhymbri in their northward advance (probably by sea) occupied defensible sites on the coast, such as Bamborough, Lindisfarne (Beblow), Coludesburh and Dunbar, and no doubt others that remain to be discovered. From the ancient names of these places we may infer that they were previously British strongholds (Dinguayroi, Metcaut, Caer Golud, Dunbar). Indeed, one of them still retains vestiges of a firmly cemented wall built "more Romano," possibly by the Romans themselves; and there are fallen masses of masonry at Bamborough that may have had the same origin. In an old Welsh poem Caer Golud is associated with King Arthur (*Antiquity*, VIII, 1934, 202-4).

The possession of these castles was no doubt hotly contested by the native Britons, and it is an echo of these struggles that is heard in the old Welsh poems, with their tantalizing but unidentifiable place-names. It is even possible that the Scots assisted, if the "Dun nGuaire in Saxonland," stormed in 623 by Fiachna, son of Baetan mac Cairill, king of Ulster, is to be identified with Dinguayroi (Bamborough), as Professor

Watson thinks (p. 132). After about a century of warfare the Anglians finally prevailed, and the province came to bear the name of Beornice (latinized as Bernicia), a name said to be derived from the British tribe of the Brigantes (Ekwall, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names* [English Place-name Society, Vol I, 1924], 21). With Dere it formed the kingdom of Northumbria. To the north Beornice certainly once extended as far as Abercorn, where an Anglian bishopric was founded not long before 681 ; but the actual frontier may have fluctuated. The greater part of Lothian remained both politically and culturally a part of Northumbria throughout our period ; but after the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots were united in about 843, Kenneth, son of Alpin, their king, "invaded Lothian six times, burned Dunbar and seized Melrose. . . . Finally Malcolm, son of Kenneth, routed the Northumbrians in the great and decisive battle of Carham in A.D. 1018, and fixed the boundary of Scotland practically as it stands now" (Watson, 133).

Here we may pause and consider some geographical aspects. It is interesting to compare the southward expansion of the Picts with that of the Angles northwards. The Picts, starting (it may be) in the Orkneys, consolidated their rule on the mainland near Inverness, at the head of the Moray Firth. From here they dominated a little empire consisting of the coastal plain east and south to the Dee, southwards from there into Fortriu, and westwards into the unprofitable islands of the ocean. The Anglians, starting, secondarily, from Northumberland, spread out into the Lothian plain and tried to push on into southern Pictland. Here the two cultures met and clashed. At first the Anglians were successful ; Oswiu is said by Bede (III, §24) to have subdued the Picts (658). But he was defeated and killed in 670, and in 685 Egfrith his son was decisively defeated at the battle of Dunnichen (E 8). After this the only Anglian victory recorded is in 711, when the Picts were beaten in the plain of Manau (somewhere near Stirling). They must have retained their hold on Lothian, however, throughout.

Now it should be noted that Lothian bears much the same relation geographically to southern Bernicia as Fortriu and Circhend bear towards northern Pictland. In each case fertile and habitable lowlands are separated by an intrusive wedge of mountainous country extending right up to the sea, where it ends in abrupt cliffs, which interrupt the coastal plain and make communications difficult. What southern was to northern Pictland, Lothian was to the Vale of Tweed and Northumberland ; the "Grampians" correspond to the Lammermuirs. In each case the rulers of the larger regions coveted the profitable overlordship of the smaller. Each was able to maintain that overlordship, but for a long time neither succeeded in extending it ; the Anglians failed to acquire political control of Southern Pictland ; but the Northerners, as soon as they united and moved their headquarters south to Scone, were able, when the

Viking raids began to cease, to wrest Lothian from the Angles once and for all.

The Anglian culture of Lothian has been little studied, and the material is scanty. There survives of it hardly more than a few place-names and some battered fragments of carved crosses. Nevertheless even these are enough to show that, while it lasted, it must have been fine and vigorous. Early occupation of the region is proved by such place-names as Tynninghame, Whittinghame, Binning (Linlithgow), and perhaps Binning Wood near Whittinghame. Later colonization is implied by grants of land there (and also at Wilton near Hawick) in the 9th century, if we may trust the evidence of Symeon of Durham. (The places themselves may well of course have been founded long before this date.) No doubt an organised survey of Scottish place-names (which is badly needed) would amplify this short list and verify the conclusions.

Anglian culture did not reach the shores of the Firth of Forth until after the Anglians had become Christians ; there are therefore no pagan burial-grounds, nor has any recognizable Anglian relic of the pagan period ever been found in Lothian. To what extent the Lothian Britons practised Christianity we do not know ; it was, however, a province of that larger British region which has yielded the inscribed Christian memorial-stones. Leudonius, the chieftain who lived in the stronghold of Dunpelder (Traprain Law), was "vir semi-paganus" if we may trust the anonymous and imperfect 12th-century Life of St. Kentigern (ed. Forbes, 1874, 245). As already stated (p. 7, *supra*), the burials in slab-lined graves that have been found in Lothian may date from this early half-Christian period ; it was in one such burial-ground that the Catstane stood. Perhaps it was a religion of the people rather than of the rulers. Whatever its extent or character, this early British Christianity of Lothian produced nothing which has survived comparable with the splendid carved Anglian crosses, of which nothing now remains but a few battered fragments. (A single possible exception is St. Cuthbert's pectoral cross ; see *Ant. Journ.*, XVII, 1937, 283-93.) They have been found at Abercorn, Aberlady, Morham and Tynninghame ; and fragments too meagre for identification (but probably Anglian) have been found at Lasswade and Borthwick. Beyond Lothian they occur at Jedburgh (where is also a fine carved slab) and probably also at Coldingham and at Gattonside near Melrose.

North of the Forth, Anglian culture has naturally left fewer traces, for it was never securely established there. Although Anglian influence is evident, it appears only in a mixed form. The most definite evidence of Anglian influence north of the Forth is the fragment of a cross-shaft extracted from the lower courses of St. Andrews' cathedral (begun 1160). We also find the vine-scroll on cross-slabs at Tarbat and Hilton of Cadboll, Ross-shire, and spiral scrolls or leafage undoubtedly derived from the

vine-scroll at St. Vigeans, Abernethy, Aberlemno, Crieff, Dupplin, Largs and Mugdrum. There is also a design that seems reminiscent of the vine-scroll on Sueno's stone (so called) at Forres. "Foliage," says Romilly Allen (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 1904, 236), "was essentially a non-Celtic motive in decoration, and wherever it occurs in Ireland, Scotland or Wales, its presence must have been due directly to Northumbrian, or indirectly to Italo-Byzantine influence." Most of the places mentioned are on the coast or within reach of it, where communications with the south would be easiest (see diagram, p. 37). It is tempting to connect these Northumbrian motives with the architects whom Naitan asked Ceolfrid to send him in or about the year 710. But the date seems too early ; the best examples (Cadboll and Tarbat) are not likely to be earlier than the end of the 9th century, if their nearest analogy, a fragment of about that date at York, is correctly dated. These Rossshire vine-scrolls mark the furthest point reached by a motive that started its career in the eastern Mediterranean (*Antiquity*, X, 1936, 61-71 ; XI, 1937, 469-73). Like Naitan's request, they are evidence of the far-reaching prestige of that older world whose culture continued to influence the barbarians of the far north long after its political power had passed away.

The place-names of eastern Scotland are predominantly Celtic ; but here and there a few Teutonic names occur, such as Newburgh, and such Teutonic suffixes as "-law" (O.E. *hlaw*, hill), in Sidlaw, the Law (a tumulus near Coupar Angus and others elsewhere in the region), Cathlaw (Skene, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, IV, 174). Further instances will doubtless be found when the names have been methodically surveyed. The absence of names ending in "-ing" or "-ingham" is significant, but entirely consistent with the historical and archaeological evidence.

Before leaving this region a few words must be said about the unsuccessful missionary journey of St. Cuthbert to the Picts called Niduari. These people certainly lived on the east coast of Scotland, north of the Forth, as Professor Watson acutely perceived (p. 176) before the erroneous transcription (Mudpieralegis, really Niuduera iregio) had been corrected (*Antiquity*, VIII, 1934, 98). They may have been in Fife. There is no reason to twist the account so as to take St. Cuthbert to Galloway ; for the so-called Picts of that region are entirely fictitious (Watson, 174 ff.) and originate in a misconception of the meaning of the word "Cruithnigh." As Watson says concisely : "All Picts were Cruithnigh, *i.e.* Britons, [but] all Cruithnigh were not Picts" (p. x).

Anglian political power and culture also spread westwards into Dumfriesshire and Galloway. The door to that region had been opened by the decisive victory of the Angles at Dægsan Stane in 603, which removed the threat of a Celtic flank-attack on the Tyne-Liddisdale

artery ; but the Anglians were probably too busy then in the east to make full use of it.

There is, however, another route across the main divide—that of Hadrian's Wall. The presence of the Wall has, indeed, diverted attention from this route and over-shadowed it. But it must have been important at an early date. It would probably have been the road used by travellers between Jarrow and Whithorn and even Iona. It was certainly followed by St. Cuthbert in 685. Before this date we have the facts that on it (at Chesterholm) was found an inscribed memorial-stone of the Dark Ages, the only one in the north of England ; that Anglian relics of the pagan period have been found along the line of the Wall ; and that a battle, at which Arthur was killed, was fought in 537 on this route, just west of the main divide.

If we might trust Jocelyn's Life of Kentigern we might suppose that there were Anglians worshipping Woden at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire (F 7), soon after 563. But the authority is poor [Vit. Kent., §32]. More to the point is the evidence of an early pre-Anglian Christianity in the Carlisle region recently brought to light near Brampton, Cumberland. Here, in a Roman cohort-fort at Old Church, close to the Roman road called the Stanegate, was a church dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, Ninian's teacher ; and immediately below it at the foot of the cliff is Ninewells, St. Ninian's Well. There is only one other instance "in all Cumbria or Strathclyde" of a similar association of the two dedications, and that is at Whithorn itself. The church of Ninekirk, Brougham, is also dedicated to St. Ninian ; and the church at Irthington, three-quarters of a mile west of Old Church, is dedicated to St. Kentigern (Ian Richmond in *Trans. Cumb. & Westmd. Ant. & Arch. Soc.*, XXXVI, 1936, 180). St. Kentigern's actual presence in this region is recorded in Jocelyn's Life.

We may sum up these facts by stating that except on one occasion (Dægsan Stane), there is no evidence of any effective Anglian penetration across the main divide during the pagan period (before 634) ; and that there is good evidence of a British church in the Cumbrian-Solway region during the 5th and 6th centuries. That church originated with the missions of SS. Ninian and Kentigern ; it probably centred round Carlisle, which was still a flourishing town, with a queen and a mayor, when St. Cuthbert visited it and was shown the Roman remains by them in 685. These conclusions are entirely supported by the negative evidence of place-names ; for none of the earliest Anglian type occur within the region.

But in the 8th century Anglian Christianity is plainly apparent there. In this region are two of the finest Anglian crosses that have survived, Bewcastle (F 8) and Ruthwell (G 7). Moreover, at Hoddom, where Kentigern had preached, it seems that a school of Anglian craftsmen

was formed at a later date. Many fragments of their handiwork still survive ; the crosses to which they belong are in the Anglian style, and as closely allied to the main Northumbrian school as are those of Lothian. Unfortunately the exact date of the two chief exemplars, and consequently of the rest, is still disputed ; but we may accept the 8th century as agreed by all. Besides these there is a nearly perfect cross still standing, probably in its original position, at Nith Bridge (F 7), and fragments of others survive from Closeburn and Wamphray. Many other fragments must remain concealed in the fabric and graveyards of the ancient churches of the district ; there is a small group of such round Hoddom—Bryde's kirk and well, Luce Church, St. Mungo's Church on the banks of the Annan itself, and Pennersaughs, Kirkconnel and Kirkpatrick on those of its tributaries.

Politically, south-western Scotland was already part of Northumbria in Bede's time (early 8th century) ; for he states that Whithorn (G 6) belonged to the province of Bernicia (III, §4). This place, once the seat of Ninian's mission, was then the centre of a flourishing and growing Christian community, so much so that it had "recently" been necessary to instal an Anglian bishop there (V, §23). At a later date the northern coastal regions were added to the southern territories (Bede's *Continuator*, s.a. 750). The district remained Northumbrian throughout our period ; and it was still so when in 937 an attempted rebellion of the Britons, supported by the Northmen of Ireland, was decisively defeated at the battle of Brunanburh (probably Burnswark : see *Antiquity*, XI, 1937, 289-93). This battle was the later counterpart of Dægsan Stane, where also the Britons with Scots as allies had been repulsed by the Anglians. "It is only recently, as archaeologists count time, that Dumfriesshire became part of Scotland ; like northern England and the eastern lowlands as far as Edinburgh itself, it was formerly a part of Anglian Northumbria, where Romanized natives seem to have coalesced most readily with the immigrants from across the sea, to produce the remarkable outburst of artistic life to which the crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle testify no less than the writings of Bede" (Eric Birley, *Trans. Dumfr. & Galloway N.H. & Ant. Soc.*, Vol. 25, p. 2 of offprint).

(3) THE SCOTTISH REGION.—The native land of the Scots was Ireland, habitually referred to as Scotia, and the inhabitants as Scotti. The opening words of Bede's History tell us that the old name of the adjacent island of Britain was Albion ; the later (Gaelic) name took the form of Alba, latinized as Albania. Applied first to the whole of the island, it was restricted later to the un-Romanized portion of Scotland. The name Alba occurs several times in Scottish place-names (Watson, 12), particularly in the name of the great mountain region Druim nAlpand (Drumalban) separating the Picts on the east from the Scots on the west (Adamnan, II, §46). At a later date the term "Albania" was used for the Gaelic kingdom of Scone.

The earliest definite mention of Scots as established permanently in Scotland is in the year 501, when Fergus, great-grandfather of Aidan, "held part of Britain and died there." But it is certain that there had been Scots in Britain long before that date. A tale "in the Irish semi-historical literature" which "appears to have elements that are very old" suggests that Irishmen (*i.e.* Gaels) may have served as mercenaries under the Picts in their struggle with the Romans (Watson, 206-7). This inference is supported by a statement in the Irish Nennius that the northern (Antonine) wall was constructed against the Gael and the Cruithen (Todd's *Irish Nennius*, Ir. Arch. Soc., 1848, pp. 64-5). If this were so, it would mean that they came first by invitation, as welcome allies, and that, like the Saxons in the south, they remained as immigrants. On the other hand the historical value of the passage in Nennius is very small, and is certainly not enough by itself to prove the presence of Gaels in Scotland at this early date.

There were Scots in Scotland in the time of St. Patrick (early 5th century), and, of course, they were known as raiders in northern Britain during the Roman occupation of the island.

The later (6th century) Scots seem first to have occupied Cendtire (the Headland, Caput Regionis) now known as Kintyre, whose southern cape is only 13 miles from the Irish coast. At some unknown date they established themselves in the stronghold of Dunadd, where extensive remains, excavated in 1904-5, are still to be seen (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XXXIX, 1905, 292-322). From Kintyre and Knapdale they occupied the adjacent regions of Lorne and Cowal, called after their chiefs Loarn and Comgall. Others settled in Islay and Jura, but have left no mark on the place-names of those islands. This region was called Dal Riata, after the region of the same name in north-eastern Ireland from which they came.

But it seems probable that other Scots obtained a foothold about the same time in eastern Scotland. Loarn had a brother Angus and Comgall had one called Gabran. Professor Watson has suggested that the district of Gowrie in eastern Perthshire (formerly Gouerin), whose name appears in Blairgowrie and the Carse of Gowrie, may be derived from Gabran ; and that the name Angus may similarly be connected with the Dalriatan chieftain of that name. This may help to explain the recorded defeat and death of Gabran about 559 at the hands of Brude, king of the Picts. For had Gabran and his followers remained in the south-west it seems unlikely that any cause of conflict should have arisen with a ruler in the distant region of the Moray Firth. If, on the other hand, Gabran was already in Strathmore he would be encroaching upon the territory of the Southern Picts, who may well have called in Brude to help them, as ally or overlord.

(Both these identifications have been accepted by scholars, but since neither district is mentioned by name within our period, they have not been marked on the map. The district-name of Angus first occurs under the year 938.)

The Scottish immigrants did not, however, consist solely of armed warriors. The Scots were Christians before they left Ireland, and missionary journeys were associated with their invasions. The saints who undertook them founded settlements of two kinds : (1) self-supporting monastic communities, usually (when not on the mainland) on the larger islands ; (2) solitary refuges on inaccessible islets. One of the earliest missionaries was St. Brendan of Confert, Co. Galway ; he founded a monastery on Ailech (na hEileacha Naomha, spelt Eileach an Naoimh on the maps), one of the Garvellach islands lying between Mull and Scarba. He is also associated with Lorne, and with the islands of Mull, Islay and Bute, especially the last (Watson, 274). He died in the year 565 (or, according to another account, 573). In later times his Voyages became popular romances with a wide European circulation ; but his activities are authenticated by the evidence of Adamnan, who mentions a visit which he paid to St. Columba in Iona. In 563 St. Columba, a Scot, left Ireland and founded a monastery on Iona. His mission was very closely associated with the expansion of the Scots and, if the suggestion already made above is correct, with the severe reverse they had just sustained. For one of his first acts was to visit Brude, king of the Picts, in his stronghold, probably the hill-fort now called Craig Phadrig (D 6) and certainly located near the mouth of the river Ness. He succeeded in converting Brude to Christianity, and Adamnan has recorded several stories of his doings at Brude's court.

These events typify that struggle between west and east which is a recurrent feature of Scottish history, and probably also of Scottish prehistory. It has been perverted by popular romance into a struggle between Highlanders and Lowlanders ; but in actual fact the attacks came not from the barren and sparsely inhabited valleys of the central Highlands, but *through* them from the western coast. Those valleys could never have raised armies large enough to overrun the relatively populous plains of the east. Essentially the struggle was dictated by the land ; the westerners needed something better than the rugged cliffs and wind-swept islands of Argyll to provide food for their increasing population. Strathclyde was already occupied by the Britons, whose stronghold of Altclut (Dumbarton) also barred the direct southern approach to the Forth and Tay regions. Some other method of approach had to be found.

There are backdoors into Fortriu and Pictland through the valleys of the Central Highlands, and they open on to the coasts of Dal Riata. One such corridor starts on the Firth of Lorne near Dunolly and passes

along the southern shore of Loch Etive to the modern places of Dalmally, Tyndrum and Crianlarich, thence up Glen Dochart to Loch Tay and so by Dull (an ancient site) down the Tay valley to Dunkeld and out into Strathmore. If it is a fact that St. Columba went on a missionary journey to the people of the Tay valley, this is the route he may have followed (Watson, 225 ; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II, 136-7 ; Anderson, *Sources*, I, 52). The route is joined at Dalmally by another which starts at Dunadd and proceeds along the eastern shores of Loch Awe, at whose southern end was "Cnoc Coirpri in Calathros ac Etarlinddu" (Ederline), where Talorgan defeated the army of Muiredach, king of Dal Riata in 736 (Watson, 105). At Crianlarich it is joined by a route from Dumbarton along Loch Lomond. At Killin Junction a route opens up south-eastwards and divides into two branches, one leading down past St. Fillans and Dundurn (both old sites) into Strathearn and the other down Strathyre to Callander and Menteith. These branches meet the main eastern thoroughfare of Scotland at Dunblane, Rottearns, near Ardoch, and Scone. All are ancient sites, Rottearns, according to Watson (p. 285), meaning "Ireland's rath" or fortress (Rath Erenn).

At Dunkeld begins a route along the north side of Strathmore, passing Blairgowrie, Alyth and Kirriemuir and meeting the main eastern route at Brechin. A route may have run from Dunkeld up the Tummel valley and westwards across Rannoch Moor to the western sea at Loch Leven. In this valley are found some primitive round forts of a peculiar type not found elsewhere in eastern Scotland except in regions (such as Menteith), where Scottish penetration is suspected. They recall the raths of Ireland (Circular Forts in Lorn and North Perthshire, by W. J. Watson, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xlix, 1915, 17-32).

Some of these routes turned the flank of the kingdom of Strathclyde and made possible a direct penetration of its northern frontier and of Southern Pictland. But no such advance was possible so long as both Northern and Southern Picts were united in hostility to the Scots. That they were previously so united may be inferred from Brude's victory at Cnoc Coirpri in 559 ; for he could hardly have advanced so far south without the aid, or neutrality, of the Southern Picts on his left flank. On the other hand, if the aggression of the Scots were diverted south-eastwards and southwards Brude gained as an ally one from whom he had in any case little to fear as an enemy. May not these considerations have been put before him by Columba on his famous visit ?

The course of events was as follows. In or about the year 559 the Scots were at enmity with the Picts and suffered a severe reverse at their hands. In 563 Columba left Ireland and threw in his lot with his fellow-countrymen in south-western Scotland. One of his first acts was to conciliate Brude, and it is certain that until Columba's death in 597 there is no record of any hostilities between Scots and Picts. The very

next year, however, Aidan, king of the Scots, was defeated in Circhend, that is to say, in the territory of the Southern Picts. We are not told by whom he was defeated, but it can only have been by Picts. It looks as if an alliance lapsed with the death of its founder.

It was Aidan and Columba who really consolidated the power of the Scots in Scotland. It was Columba who selected Aidan as the instrument of his policy and consecrated him king of Iona in 574. The combination was a strong one, and so long as it lasted all went well. Aidan's activities seem to have been chiefly in Fortriu, a region whose political adhesion was probably rather to the Britons of Strathclyde than to the Picts. At some date between 574 and 597 Aidan defeated the tribe of the Miathi (Ad., I, §8), whose location is doubtful. The Maeatae, their representatives in the 3rd century, lived close to the Wall next to the Caledonians (Watson, 56, quoting Xiphilinus on the doings of Septimius Severus in the north in A.D. 208).* They have been associated with the modern place-names of Dumyat, a mountain on the southern escarpment of the Ochils, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of Stirling Castle, and with Myothill near Denny. But no early forms of Dumyat are available, nor are there (as has been claimed) any remains of a stronghold on it. In 580 we read of an expedition to the Orkneys (*Annals of Ulster*), perhaps in alliance with Brude, whose power extended over those islands (Ad., II, §42). In 582 or 583 Aidan won a victory of Manonn, but it is not known whether this refers to Manau Guotodin or the Isle of Man. In 591 he fought a battle at Leithrig or Leithreid, whose site is unknown. He had a fort at Aberfoyle which he gave to St. Berach for a monastery (Watson, 225, 301). Berach was a friend of St. Columba (Ad., I, §19). Aidan himself was called "Prince of Forth," where his father Gabran had led a foray (Watson, 53). His son and successor, Eochaid Buid (died 629 or 630), was called "rex Pictorum" (*Annals of Ulster*).

The region of Fortriu was, in fact, the cockpit of Scotland—a meeting-place of all the different cultural and racial elements that were contending against each other. It consists of two low-lying regions connected by the wide corridor of Strathallan. The region on the north, Strathearn, consists of two vales separated by the whale-backed ridge of Gask and blocked at its western entrance by the stronghold of Dundurn. That on the south is about the same size, but totally different in character. The Vale of Menteith was a great peat-covered morass, quite uninhabitable except on the hard ground ("braes") along its northern and southern margins. To this vale the valley of the Teith is an annexe contracting

*Both Watson and Haverfield conclude that Hadrian's Wall must be meant, and that the Maeatae moved north subsequently. This seems very improbable; the only reason for not identifying the Wall mentioned by Xiphilinus with the Antonine Wall is that in A.D. 208, that wall was not held. But it *existed;* it was known even in the Dark Ages; and the present writer thinks that it is the one referred to here.

at Callander into a corridor which led into the west (see above). At the eastern ends of each region, where they reach the sea, were important early sites—Stirling, where the combined waters of Forth, Teith and Goodie become tidal; and Forteviot, Abernethy and Carpow at the eastern end of Strathearn. Both regions were fertile and suitable for settlement, but each lay on the border of a larger and more powerful kingdom, Pictland to the north of Strathearn, Strathclyde and Lothian to the south of Menteith, with the region of Manau Guotodin lying in between. Moreover, each region lies open to invasion or immigration from three directions—Strathearn from the Tay valley in the north, Strathallan (the main corridor of Scotland) in the south, and the upper Earn in the west; and Menteith from Strathallan and Strathyre in the north, the Leven valley in the south-west, and the braes of Bannockburn and Strathblane in the south-east.

The district of Strathearn once covered a much wider area than the valley of the Earn, for Culross was said to be within it. In Professor Watson's opinion (p. 227) both river and lake and some other places obtained their names from a district called Eire, meaning "Ireland" and lying east of Drumalban (for which there is mentioned once an alternative name Brunhere). He adduces an early site called Rath Erend ("Ireland's fort," now the farm of Rottearns near Ardoch) and some other place-names. But, though very attractive, there are difficulties in accepting this interpretation. Another view has been put forward, but this also is difficult to accept (Pokorny in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, XV, 1905). Nevertheless it is certain that the whole region, whatever its ancient name, was permeated from an early date by Irish influences, both political and cultural. There were Irish missionaries in Scotland before the birth of St. Columba (SS. Faelan or Fillan, Buite, Sciath) whose names are associated with sites in Fortriu. The impulse seems to have come, not from northern Ireland, but from Munster. The traditions which embody these names bear marks of authenticity, and the evidence, though scattered, is entirely consistent (Watson, 335-6).

(4) PICTLAND.—This is not the place to discuss the so-called problem of the Picts and their language, but rather to indicate the regions into which their territory may be divided. The sources of our information about this region are meagre in the extreme. Before Columba's visit to Brude, which may be regarded as inaugurating the historical period, we have nothing but scattered references by the writers and annalists of other lands, and even for the succeeding centuries we have little more. If, on the other hand, we turn to archaeological sources and (with Professor Watson) identify the Picts with the broch-builders, we obtain a clearer picture. Professor Watson (65-7) has summarized his views as follows: "From all this we may reasonably infer that the Picts really did settle at first in the Northern Isles, and held a position there very similar to

that held afterwards by the Norsemen. Thence, like the Norsemen, they gradually extended their power on the mainland and throughout the Isles of the West, and to a less extent along the west coast. The island Picts were seamen and pirates; the Picts of the mainland were to a considerable extent agriculturists. Once they had become lords of the mainland as far south as Inverness, which they probably did at an early time, they would come in contact with the ruling tribe of the Caledonians, and in the 4th century, when the power of the Caledonians had declined, the Picts assumed the leading place among all the tribes north of the Wall of Antoninus, who had been little touched by Roman influence and doubtless considered themselves, as they did in the time of Calgãcus, the noblest of the Britons. In the middle of the 6th century, in Columba's time, their capital was still in the North, and they were ruled by a king whose word was law in the Orkneys. While the hegemony of the tribes was held by the Caledonians, the tribes were styled collectively Caledonians and their country was known as Caledonia; when the hegemony passed to the Picts, the tribes formerly called Caledonians were called collectively Picts, and their country—from the far north to the Forth—came to be called in Latin, Pictavia. At a still later date, and for exactly similar reasons, came the further change to Scots and Scotia.

"While the coming of the Scots introduced a new element into the population, there is no evidence that the advent of the Picts to power meant anything more than a change of rulers or of overlords. The Caledonians and the others remained racially what they had been. Nor is there any evidence that the Picts of the North differed in race or in customs from the Caledonians, or that the Caledonians differed from the tribes to the south of the walls as they were before the Roman conquest. On the latter point the narrative of Tacitus in the Life of Agricola is decisive. Among both Caledonians and Picts, as elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, the ruling race were Celts. . . . Under them, and subject to tax and tribute, and service of various forms, were the pre-Celtic people, forming doubtless the bulk of the population, and themselves of more than one racial origin."

The conception of the Picts as a group of overlords, a ruling class, removes many apparent difficulties. It reconciles the general theory to the fact that there are no brochs in Aberdeenshire and several of the adjacent counties. But there is no need to suppose that Picts always and everywhere built and lived in brochs. Brude certainly did not. As for language, we can only say that the British form of Celtic was certainly spoken at a very early date throughout the whole region occupied in historical times by the Picts.

If we confine ourselves for the present to the historical Picts (leaving the broch-builders for a future occasion), we may divide Pictland into

two halves, on the excellent authority of Bede (IV, §4). The dividing line was formed by the mountains which divide modern Aberdeenshire from the Mearns and Angus. North of this range were the Northern Picts, with their capital near Inverness. South of it lived the Southern Picts, whose kingdom seems to have centred round the mouth of the Tay (Scone, Abernethy, Forteviot).

Historically the most obscure part of Pictland is Aberdeenshire and the southern shores of the Moray Firth. But here we have the valuable help of archaeology. For it is here that the standing stones carved with Pictish symbols (and the carved stone balls also) are most numerous. These consist of symbols such as the inverted crescent, flowering rod, comb, spectacles, mirror and serpent ; their meaning is entirely unknown, nor is their range in time at all precisely determined. They may have been copied from motives of Roman art such as the pelta, for instance ; but if so they were greatly improved by the copiers. They were still favourite motives after the introduction of Christianity, for they appear on the cross-slabs, which have been assigned to the period A.D. 800-1000. They appear on the walls of the Fifeshire caves alongside of Christian symbols. But they are quite unknown to Christian art elsewhere, and they do not occur outside Scotland. They are engraved on two silver chains found in Lanarkshire and Aberdeenshire respectively, and in Fifeshire on a silver ornament from the Norries Law hoard. (The circumstances of its discovery warn us against using the associations of this hoard for dating purposes.) They have also been found engraved on objects found in the brochs. The symbol-stones were put by Anderson in the period between 600 and 800, and if we allow for the possibility of the symbols themselves having been invented considerably earlier we may provisionally accept this dating.

The map shows that their distribution is mainly a valley distribution. Even over the lowland region of Aberdeenshire they occur most frequently in valleys. They are numerous in the neighbourhood of Inverurie, and seem to be strung out along the natural route from the mouth of the Don to the mouth of the Spey (the modern road from Aberdeen to Elgin and Inverness). They also occur frequently in Strathspey, which is the beginning of a long corridor leading over the Pass of Killiecrankie to Glen Garry, Athol and the Tay region. This was a back door by which the Northern Picts could communicate with (or attack) their Southern neighbours.

Besides the symbol-stones properly so called, there is a small group of animal carvings centring round Inverness and Burghead. These consist of spirited representations of bulls and a large dog or wolf. The designs are admirably carved, with a sureness and grace that mark the work of real artists. Nothing better of their kind has ever been achieved. Unfortunately nothing whatever is known about them or their makers

except that they belong in a general way to the same group as the symbol-stones. The few animal-carvings found further south may be contemporary, but they are in a different style. A boar has been found carved on a rock at Dunadd.

Several of these symbols, such as the mirror, comb and boar, had a place in the later mythology of the Celts in other regions. It is possible that further investigation of Celtic literature might throw some light on these northern examples. Is it not also possible that the mirror and comb which are part of the equipment of that fabulous monster, the mermaid, may be derived from the same cultural complex ?

As for their purpose it is reasonable to suppose that in some cases the symbol-stones marked the graves of important people, thus corresponding to the earlier prehistoric standing-stones on the one hand, and on the other to the inscribed memorial-stones of the south. The immediate vicinity of a symbol-stone has never been properly excavated ; many of them are not now in their original positions. Standing as they usually did in fertile lowlands, they have often been removed by later agricultural operations. The old accounts which describe these operations sometimes refer to the discovery of human bones in the immediate vicinity (*e.g.* in the haugh of Bruceton near Alyth, where a symbol-stone still stands in its original position (E 7) ; see Macfarlane, *Geogr. Collns.*, I, 114, written in 1727).

The view here adopted, that the Picts built the brochs (a view by no means new or original), is accepted by Brogger and others but is opposed by at least two leading authorities. Some objections may be stated, using as far as possible the critics' own words ; but no attempt can be made here to reconcile the opposing views. The evidence, it is said, that the Picts built the brochs is unsubstantial. If the Picts originated in Orkney how does it come about that in Orkney there are none of the structures which we recognize as showing the origin of the broch and which *are* found in the west ? The brochs of Orkney and Shetland are thought to be *later* than those on the mainland. If the broch-builders were pirates, why is it that, of the sixty-two brochs in Sutherland only thirteen are on the coast and all the rest inland ? If the Picts built the brochs, how do there come to be brochs in Galloway ? It is thought that the broch-period was followed in the Orkneys and Shetlands by a period when the people who occupied them had an entirely different architectural tradition. These people may have been the Picts.

Two exceptional instances call for special mention. One is a symbol-stone found in Princes Street gardens, immediately below Edinburgh Castle. It is a poor specimen, as might be expected so far from the centre of origin. Were it not that the symbol is carved on a large and heavy stone, one would suspect that the stone might have been carried

there in modern times, but this does not seem likely. It is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. The other is carved on the living rock close to a vitrified fort at Anwoth in Kirkcudbrightshire. Here there can, therefore, be no question of recent importation. These are the only instances of stone-carved symbols south of the Antonine Wall.

The regional names marked on the map (Cat, Fib, Fortriu, Circhend, Athfotla) are five of the seven divisions into which Alba—that is, Scotland north of the Forth and east of Drumalban—was divided. Two others (Cé and Fidach or Fidaid) are known to have extended from the Dee to the Spey and from the Spey to Dornoch Firth ; but it is not known which name applied to which region (Watson, 114-5).

The general distribution of the symbol-stones coincides exactly with the area known historically to have been occupied by the Picts. It reflects what may be called the period of their mainland hegemony, just as the brochs may reflect their island beginnings. The symbol-stones are most numerous in Aberdeenshire, tailing out north and south from there ; whereas the brochs cluster most thickly in the Orkneys and Shetlands and Caithness, and do not occur at all in Aberdeenshire or, indeed, anywhere between the Moray Firth and the Dee. It is true that some of the broch-builders seem to have penetrated far south at an early date, well within the Roman period ; but these southern brochs are few in number. It is probable that the majority of the brochs were built before the majority of the symbol-stones were engraved, but that there was an overlap.

It remains only to consider the conversion of the Picts to Christianity. We have the unambiguous statement of Bede (IV, §4) that the Southern Picts abandoned idolatry at the instigation of St. Ninian, a Briton who had been educated in Rome and whose seat was at Candida Casa (Whithorn, G 6). By "Southern Picts" Bede means those who lived south of the "steep and rough mountain ranges" separating them from the Northern Picts, that is, between the "Grampians" and the Tay or the Forth. In this region, therefore, there can be no doubt whatever that the Ninianic church preceded that of Columba by more than half a century at least.

Brude was converted by St. Columba soon after Columba's arrival in Iona in 563. But the conversion of a ruler does not necessarily affect the practice of his subjects, especially when (as in this instance) that ruler may have belonged to a ruling class of alien origin. In any case, if the symbols are correctly dated to the period 600-800 Christianity seems at first to have had little or no influence upon the bulk of the population ; for at a later date when Christianity was more firmly established, these memorials were superseded by others (the cross-slabs) of a definitely Christian type, bearing designs with scriptural motives. But the monastery of Old Deer was said by its own tradition to have

been founded by Columba; and there is no evidence that this was not so.

At a later date, the Columban (Irish) form of Christianity had certainly reached the Southern Picts; this may have been the result of St. Columba's missionary journey to the region of the Tay, if that is authentic, or it may have spread southwards from the north. In any case, the Columban church does not seem to have been popular there; for (as already mentioned) in or about the year 710 Naitan, king of the Southern Picts, sent to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, for advice, asking also for architects who could build stone churches. His request was granted. He was persuaded to change his mind about the date of celebrating Easter and (what was perhaps regarded as even more important) in 717 he expelled the priests of the Columban church.

(5) THE PREHISTORIC HINTERLAND.—Beyond the mainland of North Britain are three large groups of islands: the Outer Hebrides, also called the Outer Isles and (though there are nearly twenty altogether) the Long Island; the Orkneys; and the Shetlands. All these groups are separated from the mainland by open sea, which is often very rough and seldom calm for long at a time. Even the calms are dangerous to navigators on account of the dense sea-fog, which may come up very quickly and almost without warning even in the sunniest weather.

In addition to these outer islands there are a number of others nearer the mainland; with these we are not for the moment concerned, because their culture seems to have been closely akin to that of the mainland during our period. Skye, too, may be regarded as virtually an extension of the mainland, from which it is separated by channels less than a quarter of a mile wide.

The early history of the outer islands is very imperfectly known.* It was by no means uniform. The Outer Isles are a string of peat-covered archaean rocks, whereas the Orkneys are formed of nearly horizontal sedimentary strata and are much more fertile. The Orkneys, too, are separated from the mainland by a narrow but stormy strait, and they are so placed with relation to it that its protected eastern coast-line is within easy reach. The sheltered inland sea of Scapa Flow is an excellent roadstead for ships. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Orcadians have always been very much at home on the sea. The geographical position of their islands had also a negative aspect. In the days when raiding bands (for most of the "armies" were little more) seldom crossed anything wider than a river, even the narrowest tidal estuary was an invaluable protection, and a stretch of open sea made

*Mr. Ian Richmond calls attention to a reference that has hitherto been overlooked: Plutarch, "De defectu oraculorum," c. 18, where Demetrius of Tarsus describes his visit to these islands on an Imperial expedition of enquiry and exploration. "Most were deserted and regarded as the homes of demons."

such attacks impossible by a land force. Scapa Flow provided a sheltered concentration-point for a fleet which could assemble there for pirate raids. Such advantages were rare on the west coast of the mainland and entirely absent on the east.

These contrasts were due to physical configuration alone. Climatically there is little difference between the three groups; and even if (as is probable) the climate during our period was different (it was probably drier), all would have been similarly affected.

We have already seen (pp. 15, 24) that there are reasons for regarding the Orkneys as the home of the Picts and for regarding these people as the builders of the brochs. It is not inconsistent with such a view that Brude, in Columba's time, should have been overlord of the northern islanders; for Brude was himself a Pict, and if his dynasty came originally from Orkney and settled on the mainland, it may have still retained its hold on the islands. That would not have prevented the Orkney Picts from continuing their hostile sea-raids down the western coasts; and it is clear from historical references that such raids were of frequent occurrence. In fact, we should probably be right in regarding the presence of a powerful piratical community in the Orkneys as the dominant fact of "outer island" history, not only during our period but after it, and possibly before it. A few facts may be mentioned in support of this view (which is not new). It should be remembered that these "outer islands" (especially the Outer Hebrides) have even less of recorded history than the mainland, so that the rare mentions of raids that have survived in the records of other peoples may well stand for a much larger number that passed unrecorded.

The Picts first appear in history as raiders of Britain, and it is stated that Britain was already accustomed to regard them (and the Hiberni) as enemies long before the time of Eumenius (A.D. 297). The Pictish raids into Roman Britain which occurred about 360-70 are well known. In the year 364 (if we may trust a sycophantic poet) they were in Thule (Shetland), which the poet distinguishes from the Orkneys ("wet with Saxon blood") and Ierne (Ireland) which "wept for heaps of Scots." The panegyric is addressed to Theodosius, and it is implied that he first made camps amongst the Caledonians and then crossed an unknown strait or sea ("ignotum fretum") before attacking the islanders. But perhaps one ought not to interpret the passage too literally.

Gildas says the Picts came (to Britain) from the north across the sea, and eventually settled there (*De Exicidio Britanniae*, §15); Nennius, that they came (from somewhere else) and occupied the Orkneys, and afterwards from those islands ravaged many regions in the north of Britain, where they were still living in the writer's own time. This is the historical background of the old Irish tales, so difficult to interpret precisely, which tell (for instance) of the destruction of "eight towers of Tiree," of battles

between a king of Ireland and the "tribe of Orcs," and of a fort called Dun Balair in Tory Island (F 2), which was the base from which the dreaded Fomorians operated. The towers in Tiree may have been brochs, as Watson says; there are still the remains of four "semi-brochs" there (Erskine Beveridge, *Coll and Tiree*, 1903); and it is recorded that Comgall's monastery there was raided by Picts about the middle of the 6th century (Watson, 62). These "semi-brochs" or galleried duns are stated to have been originally not more than 12 or 15 feet in height, as against the probable 50 feet of the true brochs; but the term "tower" might, it seems, have been applied to them without undue exaggeration. Perhaps Aidan's expedition to the Orkneys in 580 was in retaliation for this act of piracy. It was probably Pictish "sea-robbers" who killed St. Donnan of Eigg and his companions there about the year 618. In the same year it is recorded that Tory Island, where St. Columba is said to have founded a monastery, was devastated, perhaps by the same band. In 682 Brude, son of Bile, king of the mainland Picts, devastated the Orkneys, and there was a battle there, of which we are given no details, in 709. In 729 a fleet of "Picardaich" was wrecked off a cape called Ross Cuissini (D 8), which Watson (p. 63) identifies with Troup Head.

When the Orcadians first became Christians—or, perhaps we should say, permitted Christian monks and priests to settle amongst them—we do not know. They were certainly quite untouched by Christianity in Columba's time (Adamnan, II, §42). Watson thinks that they and the Picts of the Northern Isles remained pagan after the other Picts had become Christian (p. 63).

Archaeology and philology can as yet do little to supplement these bare facts of history. What little it can do mostly concerns the brochs and will be dealt with on a future occasion (see Foreword). An occasional cashel on one or other of the Outer Islands suggests that many more such remains would be authenticated by excavation. Of the earlier secular habitations we are beginning to learn something from sites such as Jarlshof in Shetland (B 9). For the rest we are dependent upon inferences. The modern culture of all these outer isles is Scandinavian in origin. House-types and language were profoundly affected by the coming of the Scandinavian Northmen. The long house, from which the existing "black houses" are directly descended, superseded the prehistoric hut-clusters. But these hut-clusters survived right down to modern times, and one such, in Lewis, was inhabited as late as 1823 (see E. Cecil Curwen in *Antiquity*, Sept., 1938). Life in these remote regions changes little; it has always been a hard and never-ending struggle to extract food from the soil and to keep out wind and rain. There is little leisure for those activities which provide the materials of history and of historical maps. Thus the very emptiness of our map has a certain significance.

TRIBES AND ROUTES

Outline Map, No 1

Ordnance Survey, 1938

SYMBOL - STONES

Outline Map, Nº 1

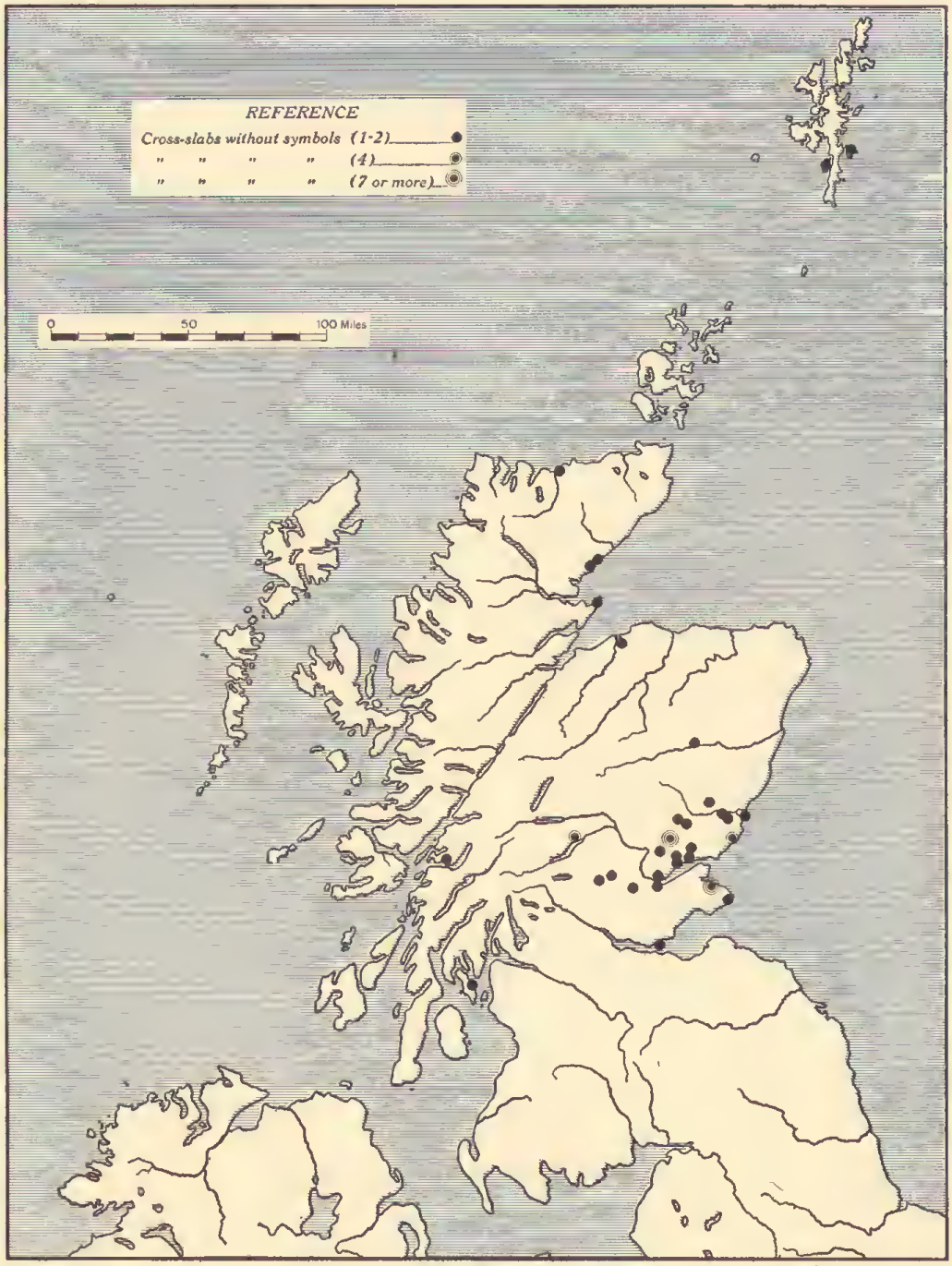
Ordnance Survey, 1938

CROSS-SLABS WITH SYMBOLS

Outline Map. Nº 11

Ordnance Survey. 1938.

CROSS-SLABS WITHOUT SYMBOLS



Outline-Map, N° 1½

Ordnance Survey, 1938.

THE VINE-SCROLL

CROSSES AND CROSS-SLABS WITH ORNAMENT

Outline Map, No I:

Ordnance Survey, 1938.

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Names in round brackets, thus (Awe), are the modern equivalents of the ancient forms.

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